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[illegible] military [illegible]
[illegible] transport and supply systems.

3. Israeli forces are equipped to maintain, service and repair as needed US origin military equipment including the most sophisticated electronic equipment and aircraft. Israel has a proven capacity for quick turnaround during conflict and the capacity to innovate rapidly in wartime.

4. Israel has an excellent deep water port at Haifa bay, featuring communications and military infrastructure.

5. Nearby Haifa, Israel has excellent air facilities of the most modern type and can service virtually any variety of jet engine or aircraft type.

6. Israel is close to vital sea lanes in the Eastern Mediterranean, Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Her ability to effect a rescue at Entebbe, jam radars in Uganda, maintain in the air a command and control and medivac aircraft, indicate a clear ability to project power over long distances.

7. Israel maintains a domestic air force larger than many fighter forces in Western Europe and possessing more up to date military hardware.

8. Israel is a multilingual country with an in-depth capability to monitor Soviet and Eastern European broadcasts, and to maintain surveillance over hostile states in her immediate region. Most Israel officers read, write and speak English and received training in the United States, Great Britain or France.

9. Israel is experienced in combatting Soviet tactics and is familiar with a wide range of Soviet military methods.

10. Israel is well situated to provide substantial assistance to the US Sixth Fleet when operating in the Eastern Mediterranean. It keeps in its arsenal equipment common to the fleet, including naval models of the US Phantom F-4 aircraft, many types of missiles, and the E2-C early warning aircraft, used widely by the Sixth Fleet.

11. In the case of wide-scale war in which the US may be tied down in southern Europe, Israel can provide essential military support to the US by combatting flanking operations sponsored by the Soviets, by tying down local troublemakers, and by requiring the Soviets to commit forces to preventing an Israeli strike against her port facilities, air bases, and military stations in and around the Mediterranean. Israel can also provide emergency air cover for the Sixth Fleet if needed.

12. Israel is a democratic country with [illegible]sted anti-Soviet, pro-Western leanings, a high level of internal order and a strong orientation to support the NATO system.●

THE CRISIS IN IRAN—WHERE ARE THE ALLIES?

● Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, 2 days ago I introduced a resolution of support for the President concerning the crisis in Iran. In this resolution the President was urged to take whatever appropriate action deemed necessary, with Congress standing foursquare behind him, to enlist the support of the international community in securing the release of the American hostages. The Senator from Kansas suggested two actions the United States, its friends and allies and, indeed, all the nations of the world who are themselves affected by this criminal act, could take to influence the situation.

First, all nations could close their embassies and withdraw their diplomatic personnel from Iran, recommend that their citizens leave that country, and suspend diplomatic relations until the hostages are released. The seizure of American diplomats on U.S. sovereign [illegible] of international conduct. If such actions are allowed to go unchallenged the entire network of international procedure and ability to transact diplomatic relations among nations will break down. This would not be the last taking of previously immune hostages.

Second, in order to remove the real club the Ayatollah is holding over all of our heads—the oil weapon—the global community ought to impose a unified, voluntary world embargo on the purchase of Iranian crude oil, until the Government of Iran guarantees that all diplomats and embassies will be given immunity and normal freedom of action.

International standards of conduct have been universally agreed to in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, signed by Iran, as well as centuries of custom and tradition concerning diplomatic immunity. All nations have a stake in enforcing them, and the United States stands ready to accept the sacrifice a decrease in imported oil may mean, and to aid other countries who participate in the embargo to not suffer unduly from the cutoff.

Now, I see James Reston, writing in the New York Times has championed this same theme. In his editorial "Where Are the Allies" he makes these same points I have raised and goes further to expound on the basic criminality of Khomeini, who speaks as an outlaw, outside the mainstream of both Middle Eastern thought and events. I request that the full text of this article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

WHERE ARE THE ALLIES?

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, November 13.—The niceties of normal diplomatic procedure are not working in Teheran because this is not a rational conflict between sovereign states but a hijacking.

Ayatollah Khomeini is as much an outlaw as any other criminal who takes over an airliner with a gun or a bomb, but with this difference: the hijacker usually acts on his own; Khomeini is acting in the name of a nation and a religion to the detriment of both, and placing what's left of diplomacy between nations in jeopardy.

It has been established for generations that an embassy is not only a symbol but a physical part of a nation's sovereign territory. Even in the ugliest phase of the cold war, embassies were respected not only as a safe haven for officials and their families but as a refuge for dissenters.

Much as Moscow hated the Roman Catholic Church and tried to intimidate its priests, it usually respected the sanctity of foreign embassies and had the decency—if that's the right word—or at least the good judgment, not to hound them down behind the gates, since the Soviets wanted diplomatic immunity for their own people.

Khomeini is now defying this tradition, and his new acting foreign minister, who has lived in France for 17 years and should know better, has sent a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, trying to change the question from Iran's violation of the U.N. Charter and the Vienna Convention on diplomatic immunity into an investigation of the Shah. At no point does he even mention the violation of the United States Embassy or the seizure of the hostages.

This is not merely a question between Washington and Teheran. You can argue that President Carter in the [illegible] have brought [illegible] in general and the Shah in particular with more foresight, but what we are threatened with now is international anarchy, which is a concern of all civilized nations, and even those that are not so civilized.

But where are the allies? The Western Europeans who yearned for "collective security"? They have said many sensible things at home and at the United Nations. They have praised President Carter for his restraint and urged Ayatollah Khomeini to release the prisoners. No doubt they have expressed some sterner but discreet warnings in private; but this is not really good enough.

President Carter cannot deal with this diplomatic and religious tangle alone. Doubtless it was good politics to announce that the United States wouldn't buy any more Iranian oil (before they refused to sell it to us). But Teheran is probably right in saying that it can make more money by selling its oil on the spot-market in Rotterdam or elsewhere.

Two things are required, or so it seems in this corner:

First, a diplomatic boycott of Iran by the allies until Khomeini releases the hostages and restores normal diplomatic procedure. And if this fails, which it probably would, then a commercial boycott of Iran's exports and imports.

Second, some assertion from the nations of the Moslem world that Khomeini does not speak for their faith. The word "ayatollah" means a "reflection of Allah," but he is now giving Allah a bad name and bringing the principle of moderation—even the whole idea of religion—into disrepute in an increasingly secular world.

There is very little chance of either a diplomatic or commercial boycott of Iran, or of any general protest in the Moslem nations against Khomeini's heretical view of the true faith. The general attitude here and among most politicians is that he is an old fanatic who will be destroyed by the fatal flaw of thinking he is what he merely pretends to represent.

Not that Khomeini has a monopoly on hypocrisy. The allies are condemning Iran but buying its oil. The Communists are demonstrating in the streets of Teheran against the helpless hostages in the American Embassy, as they demonstrated against the Shah, and just waiting for the inevitable collapse of Khomeini.

And even here at home, we see an odd kind of hypocrisy. Khomeini has managed to do something that has eluded Jimmy Carter. He has been so outrageous that he has brought the American people together against him, but with one important exception: Even Khomeini can't make us save gas.

What we need now is not a lot of people using up more fuel and running around shaking their fists at this bearded old man, but finally some honest conservation to relieve our reliance on overseas supplies.

The answer to the Iranian crisis is a major effort at collective security—at home, in the alliance of the industrial nations, and if possible, with some help from the true spirit of the Moslem world.

Everybody is crying these days to be "free," but as Somerset Maugham once wrote: "If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too."

TRAGEDY IN TIMOR

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, few Americans have probably heard of East Timor. A small island in the Indonesian archipelago, it is halfway around the world. And if we were to see pictures of starving men, women and children emerging from this tiny island, most of

us would imagine that they were pictures from Cambodia, not a place called Timor.

But while the world's attention is understandably focused on mass famine in Cambodia, a similar tragedy is unfolding today in East Timor—and for similar reasons.

Over 250,000 people in East Timor—half the total population—now face critical starvation conditions, due to the ravages of a civil war which has raged since the Portuguese literally abandoned their island colony in 1975, with no preparation for self-sufficiency much less independence. This vacuum invited the subsequent invasion by Indonesian forces in an effort to incorporate the island into Indonesia.

A bloody guerrilla war has continued since then, and Timor was sealed from the view of the international community—by Indonesian authorities—very much as the regime of Pol Pot closed Cambodia to outside view. But finally the desperate conditions confronting their peoples could no longer be contained, and the spectre of mass famine could not be kept secret.

After many years of serious charges of human rights violations, Indonesia finally opened East Timor to the view of several international and voluntary agencies, permitting an international response to the escalating human needs on the island. Unlike Cambodia, the United States moved expeditiously to respond to the appeals of the International Committee of the Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services for emergency relief supplies.

In June, the Office of International Disaster Assistance in the Agency for International Development (AID) first provided some $1.3 million in cash and food assistance to the ICRC and Catholic Relief Services. The total now is $2.9 million in cash, plus $4.7 million in Public Law 480 Food-for-Peace commodities—or some $7.6 million combined.

In August an AID team visited East Timor and, along with an official of Catholic Relief Services, surveyed additional needs and reported their findings to our Government as well as to my office. I have closely followed developments in East Timor, and I commend AID for its expeditious action in support of international relief programs.

But if the specter of Biafra and Cambodia is not to be entirely repeated in East Timor, we must move not only to provide food and medicines. We must act as well to give strong diplomatic support to efforts to bring peace as well as relief to the people of Timor.

Mr. President, I ask that the following articles on the crisis in East Timor be printed in the RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 15, 1979]

TIMORESE BATTLE FAMINE; RELIEF OFFICIALS COMPARE IT TO BIAFRA, CAMBODIA

(By Paul Zach)

JAKARTA.—The Indonesian province of Timor is battling a famine and outbreak of disease that some relief officials here are calling as bad as Biafra and potentially as serious as Cambodia.

While the plight of Cambodian refugees in Thailand has been drawing most of the attention, officials of the U.S.-based Catholic Relief Services have mounted a virtually unnoticed effort here to distribute 9,000 tons of food to 240,000 people in East Timor.

Volunteers from the International Red Cross and Indonesian Red Cross are rushing aid to another 60,000 villagers, some of whom have been reduced to skeletons loosely draped with skin.

Indonesian authorities are blaming the tragedy developing in Timor on a drought and on the lingering effects of a brutal civil war that followed Indonesia's takeover of the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

[Indonesia has been accused by Timorese exiles and some international human rights groups of fostering the famine through its occupation policy there. Among their charges are that Indonesian troops forcibly take food that was to have gone to the Timorese people.]

"I have been doing this sort of work for 14 years, but East Timor is the worst I have ever seen," said Frank Carlin, the head of the Catholic Relief Services office in Indonesia.

Interviewed while directing operations in East Timor, about 1,500 miles east of Jakarta, Carlin and a handful of coworkers admitted they face a difficult task convincing the world of the need for aid in yet another pocket of suffering in Southeast Asia.

The stricken province comprises the eastern half of Timor island, sliced off from the west by Portugal nearly 400 years ago for use as its coffee plantation. When the Portuguese pulled out in 1974, they left behind a single high school, a native population of 653,000 that was 90 percent illiterate and only 13 miles of roads.

The absence of roads and facilities in the hostile jungles and mountains is hampering relief work. About $1.2 million of the $7.7 million budgeted for East Timor by the Red Cross is going for the charter of helicopters.

The Red Cross and Catholic relief group, with aid mainly from their own coffers, and the governments of the United States, Australia and West Germany, have managed to set some stocks of high-protein biscuits, sugar, dried milk powder, rice, cooking oil, corn soya blend, and some medical supplies to the docks of the province's capital city, Dili.

But transferring the supplies from the docks to the needy has been slowed by overgrown jungle tracks and limited carrying capacity of helicopters. Red Cross delegate Cedric Neukomm said his organization needs an additional $4 million to charter ships and increase the operating hours of helicopters.

Neukomm, a veteran of Red Cross work in critical areas, said he found conditions in East Timor worse than in Lebanon, Biafra or Bangladesh.

"What you have is a situation where people for four years have been on a starvation diet. Obviously, many will die and continue to die. But they still have a chance and a will to live and if we can get the supplies to them in time they will survive," he said.

Rescue workers report that as many as nine people die each day from starvation in the vicinity of the village of Halotia, 50 miles southwest of Dili. Red Cross doctors, who conducted a survey there, discovered 80 percent of the 8,000 villagers had malaria. Farther east, in Laga, doctors estimated malnutrition and disease claim three to five victims each day.

The terrain that has impeded transfer of supplies also has made it impossible for officials to determine the full extent of the problem.

U.S. Embassy officials, who have helped dole out $5.1 million in aid, said they believe the worst is behind them and substantial progress has been made in dealing with about 5,000 critical cases.

Other officials in East Timor said they fear only the fringe areas of suffering have been reached so far and that heavy rains expected in December could cut off supplies and lead to more deaths.

About one-fifth of East Timor's population of about 600,000 is believed to have fled from coastal areas to the mountains during fierce fighting that broke out in 1975 between a pro-communist independence group called Fretilin and a movement favoring merger with Indonesia.

The Indonesian government later launched an all-out invasion to bolster the latter group. After eight months of civil war, President Suharto announced in July 1976 that East Timor had been incorporated as the 27th province of Indonesia, a move still drawing fire from other Third World countries in United Nations debates.

To temper the criticism, Indonesia has allocated $15 million for development in East Timor this year. Thus far, most government contributions have gone for window-dressing like the introduction of color television in Dili.

Bitter battles between Fretilin guerrillas and Indonesians continued after annexation. The violence drove thousands of villagers into the mountains in search of refuge. It was not until Fretilin leader Nicolau Lobato was killed by Indonesian militia in an ambush late last year that the fighting subsided and people began returning from the mountains.

The island's poor soil barely allows subsistence level agriculture for residents in the best weather. But a drought last year wiped out the corn crop and the people took to eating the seeds that were to be used for this year's planting. Thus, there was little food for those returning from the mountains.

[From the New Republic]

ANOTHER CAMBODIA

Next time you see a photo of a gaunt-eyed, swollen-bellied Cambodian child, or read a report about mass death from war, disease, and starvation in Indochina, think about the small Asian island of East Timor. Much the same thing that has happened in Cambodia has happened in East Timor, some 2500 miles to the southeast. Between a tenth and a third of the island's population—60,000 to 200,000 persons—has been killed or has died from lack of food and medicine since fighting started in 1975. Half a generation of Timorese children may have been rendered mentally retarded by malnutrition. Right now 250,000 Timorese are languishing in resettlement camps which one recent visitor, a refugee-relief expert, described as "horrible—as horrible as any I've seen anywhere, including the Thai-Cambodian border." Of these 250,000, about 60,000 face starvation unless relief supplies reach them within the next two months, and 25,000 are in critical condition at this very moment.

For Americans, there is a big difference between Timor and Cambodia. We do not have the luxury, in the case of Timor, of blaming what's happened on Khmer Rouge fanatics or the communist government of North Vietnam. The agony of East Timor is the result of a bloody and brutal territorial seizure by America's friend, Indonesia, and we are deeply implicated in what has happened. Indonesia's original invasion, in December 1975, occurred just 12 hours after President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had visited Jakarta, Indonesia's capital, raising no public objection to the impending attack. American weapons were used in the initial assault and throughout Indonesia's four-year campaign to suppress nationalist guerrillas. The Ford administration accepted Indonesia's claim to East Timor, and so did the Carter administration, which (despite its stated policy of limiting world arms transfers) increased military sales to Indonesia from the Ford level of three million dollars to $112 million in 1978.

Despite consistent reports by Australian and other sources about Indonesian atrocities in East Timor, and despite occasional congressional hearings on events there, the

Carter administration has raised scarcely a public peep over human rights violations on the island. The US doesn't want unfortunate goings-on in an obscure place to frustrate better relations with the world's fifth most populous country, a resources-rich anti-communist ally strategically placed in the gap between the Asian mainland and Australia and between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Indonesia, in effect, has extorted the United States into silence by making it clear it would allow no Western humanitarian relief agencies to visit and help Timor if too much were said about what's going on there. Even now, Carter administration officials are afraid to say too much, lest Indonesia refuse to cooperate in saving those who face starvation between now and the monsoon season.

The conscience of America will be eased to know that the US government, having supplied the weapons of Timor's destruction, is now providing 8119 tons of a high-protein rice and corn soy blend to feed its refugees, and has furnished $2.9 million in aid to the International Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services, the agencies responsible for helping Timor's population. However, the conscience of America should not rest too easy. American officials raise some doubt whether enough transportation facilities exist on the island to get food and medicine to all who need it before the rains start. An American researcher who has done extensive work on Timor, Arnold Kohen, also cites church and government sources in Australia, Indonesia, and the US as charging that Indonesian military authorities have systematically plundered previous relief shipments and parceled out the remainder on a politically discriminatory basis. The conscience of America really should not rest at least until the US government has done all it can to assure that the people it has made miserable really are helped.

It is not terribly surprising that America has paid little attention to Timor up to now. It is located nowhere—at the far southern end of the Malay archipelago, 350 miles north of Australia. The whole island is about double the size of New Jersey, and for 400 years it has been divided culturally and politically into eastern and western parts. West Timor was a Dutch colony, with a large Moslem population, and naturally joined Indonesia (which is predominantly Moslem) when the rest of the country won its independence. East Timor, however, was Portuguese and heavily Catholic. It was not at all necessary or natural that it would join Indonesia when the Portuguese withdrew in 1975. A brief, bloody civil war was fought in September of that year between left- and right-wing factions committed to independence. The left-wing faction, Fretilin, won out, using arms provided or taken from the former Portuguese garrison.

Indonesia was willing to tolerate a Portuguese East Timor, but not an independent mini-state. The right-wing government of President Suharto has asserted that Fretilin was a communist movement, but US officials say there is no evidence whatever to support the claim. Probably Indonesia figured it had nothing to gain by tolerating an independent neighbor. The Indonesians first sent in commando units from West Timor, which seized border areas in September 1975 and (according to Australian intelligence sources) killed five Australian television reporters who filmed the invasion.

In late November Fretilin declared independence and on December 3 it appealed to President Ford to prevent Indonesia from invading. During Ford's visit to Jakarta, Kissinger issued a public statement saying that the United States understands Indonesia's position on the question" of Timor. Whatever American officials may have said in private about what Indonesia was about to do, it certainly had no deterrent effect. On December 7 Indonesia launched a full-scale invasion against the East Timor capital of Dili. A high-ranking Indonesian general confirmed to a US congressional delegation that "of course there were US weapons used. These are the only weapons that we have."

There is virtually no dispute that the initial invasion was accompanied by widespread, indiscriminate killings of civilians by Indonesian troops. As in Vietnam, and as in Indonesia's own civil war, ethnic Chinese seem to have been a special target of systematic brutality and murder. US State Department officials admit excesses during the early days of fighting, but claim offending soldiers and commanders were removed and disciplined. Critics of US policy assert, however, that the top commander of the forces attacking Dili was not disciplined at all, but was decorated and promoted to brigadier general.

It is an interesting parallel between Cambodia and East Timor—and one which may not be coincidental—that the Indonesian government, like Pol Pot's regime in Cambodia, made it almost impossible for the outside world to know what it was doing as it attempted to assert control over the land. Prior to its invasion, Indonesia warned Australia to get all its nationals out of the country, and also demanded the departure of International Red Cross workers. As in Cambodia, foreign visits were permitted only rarely, and then were tightly controlled.

Because of the secrecy, it's impossible to know exactly what transpired in Timor from 1975 until this year, when a few Westerners again began to travel around the country as part of relief efforts. Indonesia justified its secrecy, and its activities, as an "internal matter" after May 1976, when an Indonesian-appointed "Regional Popular Assembly" unanimously voted to ask for incorporation of Timor into Indonesia. This action has been declared invalid three times by the United Nations General Assembly. The Carter administration's official human rights report declared diplomatically that the US "has accepted the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia, but it does not recognize that a valid act of self-determination occurred." Recognition of the incorporation, however, saves the US from having to object to its ally's use of US-supplied equipment to commit aggression.

On the ground in East Timor, it's clear that after Indonesia's invasion, Fretilin's forces fled the island's small urban centers for the rugged highlands. The insurgents may have numbered as many as 25,000 persons. In 1976, the Indonesian military began to make use of Rockwell OV-10 "Bronco" counter-insurgency aircraft—slow-moving planes equipped with infrared detectors, bombs, rockets, napalm, and machine guns, specifically designed for close combat support against an enemy without an effective antiaircraft capability. US congressional committees have been told by critics of American policy that Indonesia used the planes not only to destroy guerrilla strongpoints, but also to wreck the villages and crops of highland dwellers in order to separate them from Fretilin.

Estimates of casualties in Timor vary greatly. In 1978, a leader of a provisional government created by Indonesia said he believed 60,000 persons had been killed. In March 1977, James Dunn, an Australian parliament researcher and former consul in Timor who is the most energetic gatherer of information about the island's travail, told a US congressional committee that 100,000 persons had been killed. He based his estimate on reports from Indonesian church officials and refugees. At the same congressional hearing, US State Department officials said such high reports were "greatly exaggerated." One official said that the death toll was probably 10,000. This year, James Dunn compared pre-war Portuguese census figures with current Indonesian military estimates of the population and found that 300,000 persons are "missing." Kohen, citing church sources, says more than 200,000 have died. One US State Department official said last week that 100,000 is the "generally accepted figure" on Timorese deaths. Another said he knew of no accepted figure. What American intelligence agencies know from Australian monitoring of Indonesian military communications, U.S. officials will not say.

The most intense fighting in Timor has occurred during the Carter administration's tenure in office—and so have most of the casualties. In mid-1977, Indonesia offered an amnesty to Fretilin, but also moved 10,000 fresh troops into the country and stepped up counter-insurgency operations. In the fall, a French photo-journalist slipped into the country and later claimed that the Indonesian army was "systematically wiping out" villages suspected of supporting the guerrillas. In 1978, employing search-and-destroy techniques, heavy air bombardments, and helicopter-borne attacks, the Indonesians began to make decisive headway against Fretilin. On the last day of the year, an Indonesian force killed the opposition's president, Nicolau Lobato.

The level of continuing resistance in Timor is in dispute. Indonesian authorities seem confident enough now to allow some Westerners to make helicopter visits around the countryside more or less freely as they inspect refugee camps. However other sources, including Arnold Kohen, contend that the resistance is still alive. Kohen asserts, citing reports from U.S. government officials and church sources, that the Indonesian military's policy is to execute summarily all Fretilin members, supporters, and their families, leaving resistance fighters little choice but to hide when they are unable to fight. Although the U.S. government recognizes Indonesia's take-over of Timor, it's still not clear that Timor has acquiesced.

During 1978 and 1979, a massive stream of Timorese refugees—some 300,00—has descended from the interior highlands to coastal areas and towns, driven by a combination of war devastation and drought to seek food, medicine, and shelter. The condition of the refugees has been described by witnesses as being worse than in Biafra, the Sahel, or Bangladesh during their respective disasters. In September 1978, church relief workers told visiting correspondents that 500 people per month were dying in one East Timor district alone. Other recent visitors say a third of the refugees are marasmic—emaciated, bellies swollen from malnutrition—or post-marasmic, in a state where their bodies are consuming their own protein. Of 250,000 now in refugee camps, one experienced relief official said he guessed 25,000 "are not going to make it" in spite of international relief efforts. The scale may be smaller, but Timor is another Cambodia—and it is partly our responsibility.

WINDFALL PROFITS TAX—UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

● Mr. GARN. Mr. President, on October 30 I wrote to Secretary William Miller, Secretary Charles Duncan, Jr., Secretary Harold Brown, and Mr. Stuart Eizenstat asking questions on the effect of the windfall profits tax on refiners and integrated producers. As of this date I have not received a reply to my questions from any of them.

We are about to start debate on the windfall profits tax and I am disappointed that I have not had the courtesy